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THE NEWSPAPER OF THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY STUDENT'S ASSOCIATION Vol. 22.

GREGORY HERE?

Dick Gregory, the banned American comedian, has stated in Paris and London that he'll be coming to Australia anyway. He hopes to confront Australian immigration officials face to face.

It is just over a week now since the decision to reject Gregory's application was made, and in a series of moves the issue has developed greatly since then.

Mr. Whitlam forced Mr. Lynch to give the reasons for the rejection. These reasons were purely to do with the legal Moratorium;

Senator Murphy moved an Urgency Motion in the Senate asking for removal of the ban, claiming also that racism was involved;

Mr. Gregory announced plans to come regardless of the ban;

Mr. Ralph Abernathy, the U.S. civil rights leader, has called a meeting of black Senators and Congressmen in Washington to protest to the Australian Government;

Rightwing academics including Professors David Armstrong and Owen Harries have protested in letters to the newspapers along with other members of the Australian Association for Cultural Freedom; NUAUS (now AUS) officials who originally invited Mr. Gregory to Australia have been in constant contact with him to organise his entry into Australia.

Mr. Gregory originally intended to come to Australia just to sightsee on his way home from the conference of non-aligned African nations in Zambia. Mr. Ted Noffs of Sydney's Wayside Chapel heard of the visit and invited him to speak at the Chapel.

Soon after, the National Union of Australian University Students (now Australian Union of Students) heard of Mr. Gregory's visit, and their cultural portfolio, Aquarius, asked him to tour university campuses entertaining students.

At this stage there was still no moves for him to be involved in anti-Vietnam rallies.

After arrangements had been made with NUAUS, and \$4,000 sent to Britain to pay his expenses, the Vietnam Moratorium Committee heard the news and made a deal with NUAUS and Aquarius for Mr. Gregory to speak at Moratorium meetings.

Meanwhile Mr. Gregory's visa still had marked as the reason for the visit "sightseeing" - filled in by a travel agent and not Mr. Gregory himself. Mr. Lynch claimed that this was false representation and added to the argument for rejection of the visa.

At the ANU feeling has been pretty high since news of the ban became known. Jan Stephens who has been involved in inviting Mr. Gregory and other entertainers, writers etc. to Australia, said he was disgusted and surprised by the ban.

Paul Pentony from the Union Board which was organising a free performance by Mr. Gregory also expressed dismay and surprise at the Government's stupidity.

Kel O'Neill and others involved in the Canberra Moratorium said they could not understand the Government's tactics in applying the ban. They believe the ban will only help the Moratorium and not hinder it as the Government expects.

Mr. Gregory gave up the entertainment circuit some years ago to work full-time

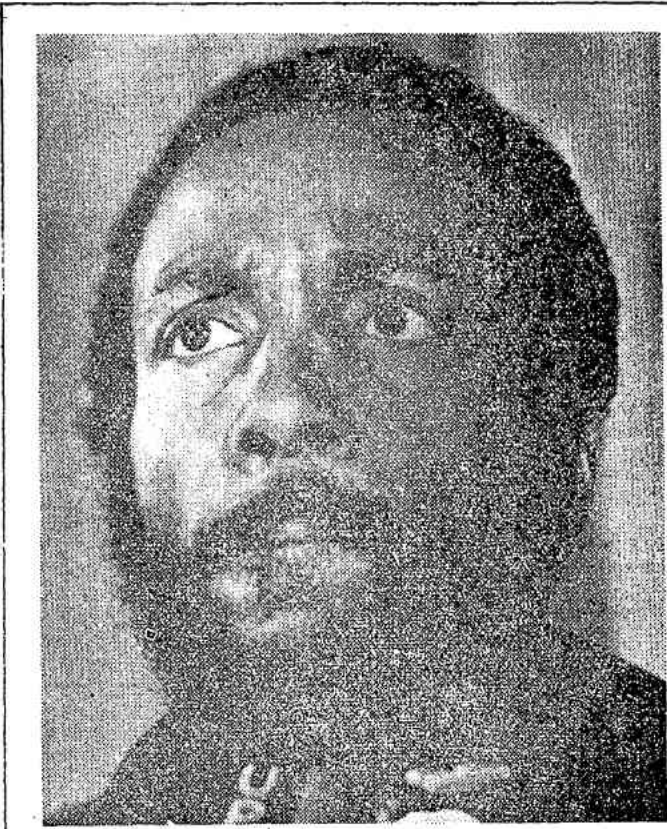
in the civil rights movement. He worked with Martin Luther King for some years expressing the same non-violent approach.

He has been arrested with Dr. King at Alabama in the demonstration broken up by dogs and fire hoses. His caustic wit soon became famous in connection with the civil rights:

Waitress : "We don't serve colored people here"
Gregory : "That's okay. I don't eat colored people. Bring me a whole fried chicken."

As his protest turned also against the Vietnam War, Gregory was also arrested in student and Yippie demonstrations, notably at the famous Democratic Convention in Chicago in 1968.

Nevertheless, throughout his protests, Dick Gregory has remained a strong advocate of non-violence whose only sin it seems is to differ with establishment policies.



DICK GREGORY

ALP HEAVIES AT ANU

The A.L.P. is not officially sponsoring the September Moratorium, being suspicious of the broadened aims which the Moratorium is supposed to have espoused. In spite of this Bob Somosi has got a number of A.L.P. politicians to turn up on the library lawn at A.N.U. for a Teach-In on Thursday 17th September (the day before the march), beginning at 1 pm and lasting through the afternoon. The speakers will be Jim Cairns, Whitlam, Tom Uren, Kep Enderby, and Senator Wheeldon.

It will be remembered that Cairns and Uren saw their role in the May Moratorium as that of policemen, keep the demonstrators in check. Whitlam, speaking outside Parliament House, gave an election speech for Enderby. How will they perform this time?

Probably more interesting is the fact that John Kaputin will also be speaking. Kaputin has become one of the leaders of the Papua-New Guinea House of Assembly, his views on Australian imperialism, and on the Western presence in Asia generally should be good to hear.

Gordon Bryant is not only going to speak at the ANU rally on Thursday of Moratorium week, but has also accepted an invitation to debate the issue of Cambodia with Bruce McFarlane the following day in Garema Place. Bryant has spoken recently in favour of the Lon Nol government in Cambodia after his visit to South East Asia.



MORATORIUM!
SEPTEMBER 18-19-20

MORATORIUM TIMETABLE

Tuesday 8th	...	Moratorium Committee Meeting (All welcome) 30 Canning Street.
Thursday 10th	...	Film "The Wargame" 8.00 pm. Copland Theatre
Friday 11th	...	Garema Place rally, 7.00 pm
Saturday 12th	...	Delivering Leaflets around Suburbs.
Tuesday 15th	...	Moratorium Committee Meeting - Canning Street.
Thursday 17th	...	Teach-In on Library Lawn 1.00 pm. - Whitlam, Cairns, Kaputin, Uren, Enderby, Wheeldon et al.
Friday 18th	...	10.30 am rally outside Parliament - March to Garema Place for Teach-In - Debate between Gordon Bryant and Bruce McFarlane on Cambodia.

AFTER THE MORATORIUM

Prof Owen Harries

reprinted from QUADRANT



Echoing Shaw's celebrated definition of foxhunting, one might describe the Moratorium Campaign as an attack launched by the incoherent on the unconvincing.

I am not going to waste time establishing the incoherence of the Moratorium case. Anyone who denounces aggression on principle and simultaneously fails to condemn (or, more usually, positively supports) a regime which has tens of thousands of its troops occupying the territory and attacking the governments of three of its neighbours, stands condemned on this ground.

More deserving of comment is the abysmal failure on the part of the object of the Moratorium's attack, the Australian Government, to make any convincing defence of its Vietnam policy. It is true that as it approached its climax the Moratorium did evoke some response from members of the Government. But, characteristically, this took the form not of arguing the issues, but of attacking the organizational affiliations and bona fides of those involved in the campaign and of denouncing the tactics being used by them. These attacks varied in quality from the competently researched and reasonably presented efforts of Mr. Tom Hughes to the self-defeating vulgarity of Mr. Snedden.

Now I think it is perfectly proper that the facts about the Moratorium - the affiliations of leading figures, the roles played by various political bodies, the statements on tactics (particularly when these involve law-breaking) - be made known and be subject to criticism. Certainly the New Left and student radicals (and much of the Old Left for that matter) are in no position to complain when this is done since they spend a good deal of their time attempting to expose what they see as 'the system' or 'the military-industrial complex' in the same way. Neither are they in a position to protest about smearing, attacks on personalities, and so on, for they themselves have long abandoned any inhibitions ('bourgeois' inhibitions) on this score and have become rather expert in the business. Those who play the politics of 'boots and all' must expect to get kicked occasionally. Others those who still strive to maintain some standards of decency in political controversy, may complain, but not they.

What is wrong is not the exposing of the Campaign in this way but regarding this as an adequate substitute for making a case and answering arguments. The Government's failure to make the case for the Vietnam policy and against its critics convincingly, forcefully and repeatedly, has been deplorable and inexcusable. It is not merely a political failure but a moral failure. If Vietnam is important enough to send men to fight there, it is important enough for the members of the Government and their supporters to sacrifice their time, energy and whatever intellectual resources they have, to master and

make the case for Australia's involvement. This has not been done. The Government has made its case, which has stirred itself to do so at all, in a singularly uninspired cliché-ridden, routine way. The enthusiasm and conviction evident when the personalities and motives of its opponents are the objects of discussion have been singularly lacking in discussing the issues. The result is that the Government's case has largely gone by default.

I refused to take part in any of the official Moratorium forums, but did speak and debate at several meetings. I doubt whether it was worth while. The standard of discussion and the general conduct of meetings seemed lower than in the teachings of four or five years ago.

At one meeting at the University of New South Wales, when we were asked to discuss 'The Consequence of Immediate Withdrawal', one of the pro-Moratorium speakers, an academic, began by complaining that this formulation of the topic was unfair to his side. That is, it was unfair to ask them to discuss the consequences of their own policy recommendations! He and his fellow speaker then went on to ignore the topic and to discuss the history of the Vietnam conflict. No one in the audience complained at this; but there were protests when the chairman asked them to address themselves to the issue.

At another meeting, this time at the University of Sydney, the professor in the Chair opened the meeting with a strongly partisan speech, posing the issue in terms of being for or against peace. Later he refused to let me finish answering a question (on the grounds that 'we all know about that'); and finally he announced that he was dispensing with the right of reply (which had been specifically agreed on, and which would have given me

the opportunity of speaking last) because we had run out of time. By that time I was too disgusted to protest. More significantly, no one in the audience, which was composed of academics not students, voiced any protest throughout.

On the evidence of these meetings, the most important source of arguments for the protesters now is *The New York Review of Books*. On three separate occasions speakers from the floor quoted from it an attack by Chomsky on Samuel Huntington. The attack was on an article by Huntington in *Foreign Affairs*, a journal easily available in University and other libraries. After the first occasion I made a point of asking the speakers if they had bothered to read the article to check on the validity of Chomsky's criticism. In each case they had not.

Having recently returned from South Vietnam, I was struck forcefully by the wide discrepancy between what things are really like in Saigon and the account of life in that city which is propagated with absolute conviction and certainty by the protesters.

There are many things wrong with the set-up in Saigon. Arbitrary action by the executive is common, censorship does occur, corruption is rife, thousands of refugees live in terrible circumstances, political prisoners are held.

Nevertheless, the picture of a rigidly controlled police state is quite false. Recently, for example, the Supreme Court has shown great independence in standing up to the President and the military. Newspapers criticize the government and publish the criticisms of others. On my last visit I spent three hours in a room full of senators, lawyers, government officials, army officers and businessmen,

listening to strong criticism of the government and the President and to a sometime passionate advocacy of social reform. There was no concern with secrecy, no insistence that what was being said was off the record. Such behaviour is not characteristic of police states.

The recent revelations about the appalling conditions in Con Son do not damage this assessment. For on the one hand Governments of all kind, including democratic ones, imprison political opponents and treat such prisoners disgracefully in the stress of war. Consider the British treatment of aliens during World War II. On the other hand, police states do not respond to exposure and criticism with promises of reform, as the Saigon Government has done. The police state response is simply to deny everything.

As a balanced statement, what the *London Economist* said after the election of 1967 still stands:

'South Vietnam (is) among the small collection of countries whose government risk holding elections with any degree of choice at all. Out of nearly 70 independent countries in Asia and Africa, there are only a dozen or so that pass that test. As a rough guide they are a bit behind Turkey; a bit ahead of Yugoslavia; and miles ahead of any orthodox Communist country.'

But it seems impossible to get a complex view of the realities of Saigon across to the protesters, and especially to those who have come to politics late (the mini-Chomskys one might call them). They cling to their stereotypes with determination, realizing, probably rightly, that they would be lost without them.

Continued p.10

3 WAY FIGHT

STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

The Students' Association Presidential election is on again and a strange three (four?) way campaign is likely.

Michael Wright appears to be one of the major candidates, and his candidature has caused a strange coalition of opponents.

Wright has been a prominent speaker at Student Association meetings and moved the successful alternative to the S.R.C. last term.

In an extraordinary move, Steve Padgham and Mark Cunliffe have become bedfellows in an arrangement that one or other will stand to oppose Wright. At present Steve Padgham says that he is unlikely to stand, leaving.....?

Alison Richards is standing also and is expected to gain the sex vote. She, like Padgham and Wright, has been greatly involved in the protest movement in Canberra, being arrested at the South African basketball demonstration.

These three candidates appear to be the main ones at present and the battle should develop around the triangle in the next few weeks. But there is one other candidate that should not be completely disregarded (just disregarded).

Richard Hartley is attempting to make it three in a row. He failed in the S.R.C. election, the Union Board election and appears to have an extremely good chance of failing the Presidential election.

Hartley appears to be the only goon candidate and so the nuisance vote in this election is a minimum - unlike the past two elections.

So the major probable candidates are: Michael Wright - past vice-president of the S.R.C. and ex-president of Abschol. Strongly involved in Moratorium activities and anti South African protests. Main successful person behind SRC constitutional changes.

Mark Cunliffe - present S.R.C. President. Original mover for S.R.C. changes. A.L.P. supporter also.

Steve Padgham - chief "anarchist" at A.N.U. Vice-president of the S.R.C. involved in almost all protests in Canberra including most famously the Nurses demonstration.

Alison Richards - Former S.R.C., S.D.S. member. Involved in Moratorium and anti-South African movements. Also very active in cultural affairs such as ANU revue.

Nevertheless there may be many more and even better candidates for nomination has not yet closed. So GET NOMINATED now.



Steve Padgham

NUAUS

In a move to increase its membership, NUAUS has expanded its basis to include CAE's, high schools, pre-schools and so on.

The name of this august body has now been changed to Australian Union of Students (AUS)

Other activities at the August Council in Melbourne included the election of AUS President, Educational Vice-President and Travel Officer.

The Presidential election brought a curious ballyhoo in the Sydney camp when the Sydney University delegation refused to back the Sydney candidate Dave Hill. But this was just one of many bickerings in the Sydney delegation.

In the end, Gregor Macauley of Melbourne University won the re-election quite easily. It is well known that he works very hard at the job whereas the other candidates were considered rather erratic.

An unknown from Tasmania (where?) won the battle for Education Vice-President from Sydney's Bruthe O'Meagher and Melbourne's Uldis Ozolins.

Janne Lee of Newcastle took the Travel Secretary's position for the next twelve months.

Incredibly the ANU delegation did not split at the seams nor did it make an absolute fool of itself, only (probably) because the Sydney delegation overshadowed every incompetent act by other delegations.

Even more incredibly, Steve Padgham spoke coherently once or twice, although the conference itself remained very boring because it was restricted to "reviewing" rather than formulation policy.

A comprehensive student Hospital and Medical Benefits Scheme has just been set up by the National Union of Australian University Students.

The setting up of the fund was finalised at the August Council meeting of N.U.A.U.S., and comes as the result of three years negotiations with the Department of Health.

The fund will offer the full benefits, as prescribed by the new Government Health Scheme, for only two-thirds of the premiums charged by the large medical benefits funds.

This amounts to about \$24 per year for full Hospital and Medical benefits cover.

This scheme is available to all students who are members of NUAUS.

Thus, most students, whether full or part-time, who are not over the age of 26 and who do not have any dependants are eligible for benefits under the scheme.

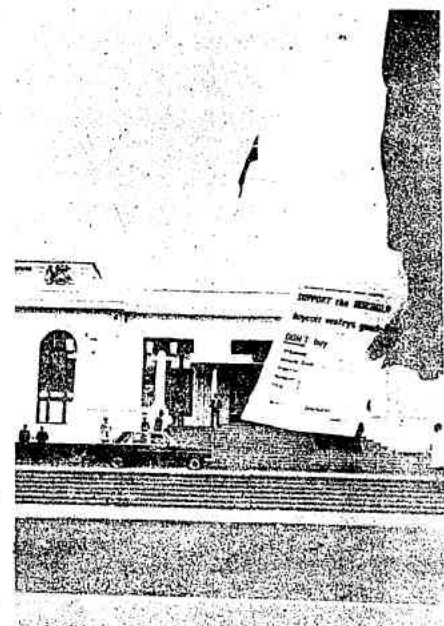
Full details of the scheme, including prochures and application forms should be available at the S.R.C. counter in the near future.

DEMONSTRATION IN SUPPORT OF GURINDJI

Pictures - James Jacobsen.



Student first picketed Parliament House....



....and later toured Woolworths and David Jones pointing out Vestey's products.



When I was teaching at Dakota Wesleyan University 15 years ago, the country was disturbed by "the silent generation" of college students. Young Americans seemed to be fitting too easily into lives of personal gain while ignoring the deprivations suffered by their fellow man abroad and at home. In the early Sixties, these misgivings turned to enthusiasm for the new activism of the young. Inspired, perhaps by an appealing young President, youthful idealists seemed more moved by causes than by careers, more interested in the Peace Corps than in the stock market, more attracted to adventure than to self-aggrandizement.

Now the country is again in anguish over the conduct of its youth. The leaders of our Government have branded some of the young as "new barbarians," "tyrants" and "ideological criminals." Those university officials who lay down a tough line on student disorder have emerged as minor political heroes. And many Congressmen, especially those once concerned that Government would be too heavily involved in education, now support legislation that would make university discipline a function of the Federal Government.

Explanations for the disenchantment of the young are sought everywhere. Psychiatrists and sociologists are summoned regularly to Washington to explain the depredations of the more demonstrative college students. We hear variously that the young are engaged in a subconscious search for authority or that they are rioting because they hate themselves or their parents. I believe that the causes and complaints of most of our younger citizens are neither so complicated nor incomprehensible. The majority of those young Americans who are seriously at odds with our politics and our policies are moved by the same idealism that we hailed at the beginning of the past decade. There is, of course, a small percentage who seem bent only upon an irresponsible rejection of all authority and discipline, including the discipline of personal effort. This group includes those who have been spoiled by affluence and permissiveness, who lack the strength to cope creatively with the frustration that is inevitable in a pluralistic society. It also includes those so bitterly angered by the outrages of our national life that they can no longer muster the patience to work within an oft-times slow political and social process.

Most importantly, however, there is a large group of young people who protest our present values because they earnestly seek an improved world. They call not for the destruction of America but for its redemption. They reject violence as a tool of national policy abroad or as a means of bringing about change in our own society. They seek to square the practices of the nation with its ideals. Consider these words from a young man facing jail for draft resistance: "Freedom is a heavy responsibility, which says to me that I must actively oppose that which is destructive around me and at the same time build that which I feel is needed. I couldn't live with myself if I didn't live my beliefs." Those are hardly the words of a barbarian or an ideological criminal.

The new generation scorns hypocrisy and sham. Freed from many of the demands and trials endured by their parents, the youth of this generation insist that the promise of America be fulfilled for all citizens - that we worry less about the gross national product and more about the quality of our society. These young Americans do not accept a scale of values that permits millions of Americans to suffer malnutrition while we spend billions of dollars on an ill-conceived new anti-ballistic missile system. They find it understandably irrational to offer their lives to save a political regime in Saigon that does not have the respect of its own people.

In the best sense, the values of our young people are still the values of their parents. They have, however, the freedom of the young to press for those values without diluting or compromising them. The constraints of age, of job, of family do not weigh so heavily upon them. Recognizing that an age of rapid change is even more painful for parents than for their children, we "adults," desperately need to hear the frank, sometimes harsh but usually honest idealism of our young people.

Unfortunately, adult America seems increasingly baffled by its young - by their hair styles, their loud music, their willingness to take grievances into the streets, their refusal to be wedged into social roles they don't believe in. Frankly I am yet prepared to accept all the youth rebellion, nor am I sure that its end product will be totally constructive, that its final influence on our national policies will be entirely beneficial. But I believe I understand some of the things that are bothering young Americans today - because they are bothering me. The causes and complaints of most young dissidents are just. We would do well to heed their pleas, to listen to what they are saying and to remedy the injustices they are pointing out so vehemently. We can hardly profit from the idealism of the young if we systematically exclude their views from our political life and our national policies. And we must avoid at all costs what one writer has called "a war against the young." For, as Fred Dutton of the California Board of Regents has correctly observed, "A society that hates its young people has no future."

In the developing discontent of the young, no factor has been more important than the war in Vietnam. It is no coincidence that the age group most strongly resisting the war - an estimated 25,000 young men are now actively refusing induction and some 5000 have virtually renounced citizenship to seek sanctuary abroad - is the same age group that is sustaining the heaviest casualties in the war. More than 40,000 have died; over 200,000 have been wounded; millions of others are racked by doubts and fears about the validity of our war policy and about what it holds for them.

The draft is a further focus of discontent. As now structured, it excuses those who can afford higher education, usually for a period long enough to allow that group to opt out of a particular conflict. The students themselves recognize the inequitable burden this places upon the poor and the less academically able. And they recognize that local boards administer the draft according to their own whims; the Selective Service regulations are too often used as a means of punishing dissent.

The arms race is another cause of student unrest. This generation has been reared through the years of the Cold War. They have seen the splitting of the Communist world; they have endured the "balance of terror" and they now wish to turn away from an international situation in which stability is maintained by threats of mutual annihilation. They understand that we have reached a point at which the simple addition of arms and bombs no longer guarantees security; that such mindless escalation of the arms race means only the loss of security. The young people of this country feel that the time has come for public dollars to be spent on crying domestic needs, rather than on foreign intervention and on new methods of destruction. They understand that only by strengthening the fabric of our own society will we increase our ultimate national security.

These perceptions are, of course, not limited to the young. But the young, especially during the national elections of 1968, provided much of the energy necessary to spread these ideas throughout the national electorate. It has become obvious to nearly everyone by now that political and social reforms are necessary. But the longer needed reform is delayed, the longer we turn away from our young people and their concerns, the greater the chance that their idealism and activism will turn to cynicism and hate.

Students themselves, however, must bear a share of the blame for the growing alienation of the older generation. It is the naive assumption of some young radicals that a flamboyant, if not violent, confrontation with authority will somehow destroy that authority. But as the news pictures of confrontation at Cronell and elsewhere have gone across the nation, the fear and anger of adults have served only to harden the insensitive authoritarianism that student radicals hoped to destroy. As the public's hostile reaction to student take-overs spreads, the willingness to reform diminishes. The use of violence by either side in a confrontation is seized upon by the other as the justification for counterviolence. Together, they divert national attention to violence rather than to its causes. Most tragically, the university, which should be a dynamic community of scholars and a testing place for ideas, becomes paralyzed.

Gunnar Myrdal, the Swedish social scientist whose early diagnosis of America's racial problems is still among the most incisive, has warned: "The danger in violence is that after it comes a demand for law and order. And throughout history, law and



RECONCILING THE GENERATIONS

order has been a pretext for not making the fundamental reforms needed." In the early stages of urban ghetto rioting, it was thought by some that such disorders, despite their ugliness and destruction, would awaken America to the needs of the cities. While the riots did produce a commission that recommended a massive national commitment to eradicate urban blight and racism, the country's answer to Watts, Harlem, Detroit and Newark has been continued procrastination. The swiftest response to urban riots has come from the Pentagon, which, without public debate and virtually without public notice, is spending more than \$300,000 to monitor urban trouble spots. Army counterintelligence personnel collect information in our cities to support contingency plans aimed at handling simultaneous riots in as many as 25 cities. Intelligence surveys have already been made on campuses. Congressional committees have conducted strenuous investigations of student organizations they suspect of being subversive.

The lesson of the nation's response to urban disorder should not be ignored by students who believe that force will bring an end to the ailments of our society. Young Americans should recognize that it makes little sense to condemn violence in Asia while precipitating it on campus. It makes no sense to challenge the political demonology of American leaders who believe in a monolithic Communist conspiracy while constructing an equally simplistic demonology of American politics. It is simply untrue that all our institutions are evil, that all adults are unsympathetic, that all politicians are mere opportunists, that all aspects of university life are corrupt. Having discovered an illness, it's not terribly useful to prescribe death as a cure.

Unfortunately, students and young activists have learned a good deal from the example of their elders. What are we to say about the importance of restraint and the peaceful resolution of differences when we have unleashed unspeakable violence and horror on the people of Vietnam? Or, again, we condemn campus disorder, but what of the authorities who have retaliated in fear and violence? We saw this in Chicago in the summer of 1968 and we have seen it at the University of California. Over the innocent issue of a park, a young man died in Berkeley, and others were injured by shotguns, beaten in the streets, sprayed with toxic gas from military helicopters. The rampage of official violence demonstrates that many of our leaders do not believe in the peaceful democratic process; rather, they see the resolution of dispute turning on who has the most troops and guns and is most ready to use them.

The question we must all face is not whether there will be a revolution among our young. In many ways, that revolution has already taken place. Polls and surveys repeatedly point to the fact that the brightest and best educated of our young people already hold attitudes significantly different from those of the generations that have preceded them. Biologists and sociologists tell us that our young people are maturing faster. They are ready earlier to take responsible roles in our society. Yet we deny them real participation in most of our institutions.

Young adults under 21 can vote in only four states, but 18 year-olds are subject to the fullest penalties of the adult legal code. Worst of all, our 18 year-old men are expected to fight our wars. It is long past the time when young adults should be not only listened to but urged to participate fully in our society. Young adults deserve a voice in the activities of our national political parties and in the selection of our Government officials. It is not enough, however, to urge participation. In too many cases, the institutions by which change is to be engineered have fossilized beyond the point where they provide any meaningful channels for the hopes of the young. My party - the Democratic Party - is a case in point. Through the Reform Commission, which I chair, created in the wake of the turbulent Democratic National Convention, we have been laboring to correct that situation, to avoid a repetition of the 1968 experience, in which the constructive energy of the young encountered so much frustration. I cannot promise the young that political channels will be completely opened by 1972, that our institutions will be fully democratic and responsive, although that is the goal of my commission. But it is important that the leaders of our major parties - and of other established institutions in our society - understand that the question is not who will control these organizations but, rather, whether the organizations will continue to exist at all. We can be sure that unless there is a new responsiveness in the old institutions, the young people of this country and others shut out by the atrophy of our democratic processes - will ignore them.

SENATOR GEORGE McGOVERN



or seek to bring them down by their own improvised means. Those institutions that serve the young must be especially open to renewal. Certainly, students deserve a voice in the government of their colleges and universities. Certainly, we must end the hypocrisy of a community of scholars demanding academic freedom while selling its brains and soul to a war machine. And surely we need to develop a mutually respectful dialog between students and faculty, to break the dreary syndrome of lectures, cramming, exams and grades. There is little prospect of peace on our campuses until there are substantial reforms in our national institutions, until the colleges and universities themselves provide vitally relevant experiences for our young people, until our national goals and priorities are restructured. Indeed, the entire direction of our society, and even the tone of our leaders, is important if there is to be a reconciliation between the generations. As we know, it is not just the young who are alienated; there is a sense of national alienation, a sense of atomization and frustration among many, perhaps most, Americans. Richard Nixon may have sensed this when he adopted as a post-campaign slogan the plea of a sign carried by a young girl to BRING US TOGETHER. But more than slogans and rhetoric are required. I believe there will be no end to the alienation of the young nor to the disenchantment of adults nor to the rage of minority groups until there is a new direction in American society. That direction must be toward doing things *with* people rather than *to* them.

Young Americans have been among the most sensitive to these failures in American life. Lacking the awe of their fathers for the great technological advances of the past decade, young people are not able to substitute a sense of triumph over the moon landings, for example, for a true triumph of human concern over the welfare of those back on earth. That machines work, that computers compute, that the nation is wealthy, that we produce more cars and television sets than any other country - all this is no solace. It is, rather, a mocking reminder to the young that their society has spent its time and money on gimmicks and not on people.

Translated to problems of national leadership, the priorities I have outlined call us beyond the systems and *ways* of the past 20 years. President Nixon has taken one step in that direction by announcing a fundamental change in the welfare system. Rather than a simple dole, the President asked for a rudimentary system of national income maintenance, combined with an emphasis on "workfare" rather than welfare. This change is a step toward greater dignity. Unfortunately, the President didn't go far enough. Where are the plans to create those jobs that the President wishes welfare recipients to assume? His scheme would, in many states, leave welfare recipients less well off than they are now. What prevented the President from making his plan real instead of rhetorical was money. His strong advocacy of the multibillion-dollar anti-ballistic-missile system must be judged against the inadequacy of his welfare program. If a national commitment to human welfare is the key to reuniting our society, the President's criticism of Congress for adding a billion dollars to his meager education budget will do little to bring the country together.

The President and his lieutenants also seem intent upon gathering about the Republican Party all those Americans who are plagued with fear about disorder. In this effort, the President and, especially, Attorney General John Mitchell are doing nothing to quell the legitimate fears of the country about violence. Rather, lacking a serious dedication to law and order as a natural consequence of justice, the President is offering tough rhetoric and a few more policemen as solutions to a complex problem. We know the causes of violence on the campus, yet the Administration ignores them. Violence in the city is a result of the unspeakable conditions there, yet the President has offered nothing substantive - other than campaign promises to promote black capitalism, now ignored within the Administration - to remove the roots of that violence. Never has the Administration tried to explain that while the poor commit most crimes of violence, so are the poor most often the victims of personal violence. What can we expect of citizens long denied their fair share of the economic pie? The Administration in its first year set about slowing the integration process in the South. Can we expect tranquility from Americans whose souls have been brutalized for 200 years?

Young Americans are in many ways forecasting a set of attitudes and values that will be increasingly shared by Americans of all ages in years to come. They will not settle for a national leadership that is less than candid and less than sincere in its devotion to improving the quality of life for *all* Americans. What must the young have thought when President Nixon last summer characterized the tragic war in Vietnam as "America's finest hour," or when he described our landing on the moon as "the greatest event since the creation"?

Young people, like a growing number of others in our society, are deeply but justifiably resentful. As Archibald MacLeish told students at the University of California: "[It] is not a resentment of our human life but a resentment on behalf of human life, not an indignation that we exist on the earth but that we permit ourselves to exist in a selfishness and wretchedness and squalor, which we have the means to abolish." When the President and other American political leaders fully understand Mr. MacLeish's point, Americans of all ages will begin coming together.

Having said all this to the nation's leaders, what can be said to the young themselves? The country is faced with a dilemma; At a time of critical need for change, its channels and procedures for bringing about change are malfunctioning. The millions of young people who worked for Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy accomplished a great deal. Surely, that effort is a model for political and social involvement. What the young people in the McCarthy and Kennedy campaigns did was to begin an unfinished revolution. Those two men represented a new departure from the prevailing mode of political action. Both men were in the process of putting together important new - although differing - coalitions of American voters. If there is to be a new direction in American society, it must begin with a new combination of voters interested in providing that new direction.

It seems to me that the most important challenge now before the youth of this country is to work toward forming such a new coalition - a coalition of the young, the poor and the oppressed minorities, of the workingman left in the wake of a changing technological society, of the educated affluent who now recognize that the goals of society are out of joint.

A voting "coalition of conscience" needs to be formed and mobilized. The energy and inventiveness of young people are absolutely indispensable to the success of such a coalition. Toward this end, I would urge young people to take an active part in every political campaign that they can reach. If there is no candidate that suits their interest, let them find out, help him organize his campaign, assist him in the research and writing of speeches and position papers, ring doorbells and distribute literature. Such efforts will no doubt produce frustrations, but fewer frustrations, I would guess, than those that come with physical confrontation. While confrontation can't be totally ignored, it can be contained. An activist coalition of involved citizens must be reckoned with by any candidate, whether he runs against it or with it.

Many of the young people who were disappointed in 1968 concluded that their cause had been beaten. Yet while their efforts fell short, it was, in fact, only the beginning. If the processes of American politics are atrophied, if the means to bring into reality the wishes of the people are now blocked, the only remedy possible is the election of men who will make the necessary changes. I would suggest to young Americans that the political process, with all its flaws, still offers the best hope of realizing the goals they are concerned about.

This kind of effort is a matter of work, of hard sacrifice, of laboring in the cause of men who may not be perfect but who offer the best prospect for remaking this country in an image acceptable to concerned Americans. I would urge young people to enlist in an unrelenting campaign against excessive military spending, against a foreign policy of mindless interventionism, in the effort to democratize our political process and to redeem the American environment, so that life is better for all Americans. The way to wage that battle is with political candidates. Every politician needs manpower and ideas - fresh and vital ideas rooted in the sensitivity that the young can best provide. "To influence men who struggle," as Jean-Paul Sartre has written, "one must first join their fight."

You've Come a Long Way, Baby, to Get Where You've Got to To-day!

WOMEN'S LIB & THE UNI STUDENT

Your parents might have secretly wished, as they gazed fondly at your cradle, that you'd been a boy instead of a girl, but they realized that it wasn't your fault and didn't discriminate against you. So you went to school and to high school and your parents paid the bills without complaint. "Why are you educating your daughter? Won't it just be a waste of time?" they were asked, and they explained. "A woman should be a companion to her husband, to be able to share his interests, help the kids with their homework. It makes for a better family situation." The nineteenth century set-up with a wife too uneducated to speak to her husband and sons - that was really bad."

If they'd been asked why they were educating your brother, they wouldn't have dreamt of saying that they were trying to make him a better husband and father. (But then, they never WERE asked.)

So you arrived at university, and your grades are always quite good. And (in spite of what Seventeen told you about damaging the tender male ego by a too flagrant display of braininess), your social life is good too, and that's the most important thing, because after all, love is all there is, isn't it? Those funny women in Edwardian gear who chained themselves to things and threw themselves under carriages - well you're very grateful to them, of course. They opened up many avenues - to girls who want them. But who wants to be one of those cold-blooded efficiency-oriented career women? Loving a man, bearing his children - who wants to give up these wonderful things? In the past, women had no choice in such matters but now, choice is possible.

WHAT'S WOMEN'S LIBERATION GOT TO DO WITH YOU?

Lots of university girls appear to think that liberation is a personal thing, to be worked out in their own life-style. To them, there is no point in joining Women's Liberation, because they're QUITE liberated, thank you very much. But there's a difference between emancipation and liberation, and while it is possible for a girl to emancipate herself in the present male world, a woman's liberation comes with the liberation of all women, or not at all. Women's Liberation has plenty to do with YOU!

YOUR FUTURE

Mrs. Robinson, in *The Graduate*, is a sadder graduate than Dustin Hoffman: she majored in Art at college, and couldn't remember a thing about it.

Betty Friedan, when she was writing *The Feminine Mystique*, interviewed heaps of attractive, educated young housewives who were bored, frustrated and unhappy without even knowing why. They'd done what everybody said would make them fulfilled as women; they'd done what they'd always wanted to do themselves. The triviality of their lives was something they couldn't even admit to themselves.

An individual girl, with a university education, can determine that she won't be like that. She's studying she loves; she intends to continue with it, to combine it with marriage and children. Having her cake and eating it too. She'll have to get some other woman in to do her shit work for her, of course. But fortunately, there's a lot of women around willing to do shit work: (it's all they're good for).

In other words, she is purchasing her emancipation with the exploitation of

another woman.

Like the Negro who makes it in Whitey's world. Like the working-class boy, who scales the ladder of educational opportunity until he's in a position to join the business world in keeping the workers down.

Women's Liberation is interested in the liberation of all women, not in the emancipation of those individuals who can manipulate the present set-up so that it yields the greatest good to themselves. There are a number of such women around, women who've made it in a man's world, on its own terms, and who despise other women who haven't as "failures." "lazy", "dumb," etc.

But as long as a woman despises other members of her sex, she nurses a secret shame about her own. Thus until all women are liberated, no one woman will be.

But back to the working wife and mother. Suppose she can't afford a cleaning lady. Then she runs two jobs - her "outside" job, and her wife-and-mother one - because, of course, she's still expected to take all that on herself as her responsibility (it proves she's retained her femininity).

One of the things Women's Liberation says is that a father is a father as much as a mother is a mother. Making child-raising purely a woman's occupation, and structuring work-relations so that a man is away from his children for nearly all their waking hours, is bad for everyone: for the man himself, because his home becomes a place where he is a stranger; for the woman, because vicarious living through her children becomes her only means of expressing herself; and for the children, who get Oedipal hang-ups and God knows what.

Unfortunately, the fact that more women are working after marriage is not changing the idea that they are still supposed to look after the home. Some work-places give time off to married women to shop for groceries. Everybody, MEN AND WOMEN, should be getting, as natural and normal, time off to shop for groceries. Or to take the kids fishing. Or to watch them grow. Recently, in Canberra, a man rang up work to say that two of his kids were sick, and he was staying home to take care of them. His boss replied, "That's your wife's job." Kids aren't a wife's job, or a husband's job: they are part of the full lives of both of them. A society that tries to chop human lives up like this must change or be destroyed.

YOUR PRESENT

Girls no longer have to fight to get to University. Time was when women flew in the face of parental opposition to get an education for themselves; they were sneered at as "bluestockings", they were laughed at and discouraged. To-day, middle-class girls have no trouble getting in - into Arts faculties, anyway.

It is, in fact, expected of them: a B.A. is the present equivalent of the "accomplishments" a Victorian young lady was supposed to possess: French, a little music, a smattering of poetry.

Australian universities are many cruddy things they shouldn't be. One of the things they are Finishing Schools for Well-Bred Young Ladies, who are passing their time pleasurably as they move from their father's protection to their husbands.

The University is not only a finishing school. It's a three year long Sadie Hawkins Day: there a girl is, in close proximity

with crowds of the future professional men of the nation. Don't blame her if she's out to nab one while she can. Higher education hasn't given women the power to govern the course of their own lives. Her status is defined by her man's; she is even known by his name. The girl who makes husband - hunting her one aim in life is just responding realistically to the present state of things.

A girl is fulfilled through the man she will marry. She does not form her own identity, but receives it, ready-made, from him. In finding Mr. Right she finds herself. But, paradoxically, girls aren't supposed to chase men; they're supposed to sit and be chosen. This means that single girls are virtually forced (though few would admit this, of course) to treat themselves as commodities - as THINGS to be attractively presented, promoted in competition with similar items, to be sold for the highest return in the form of a man. (The values most in demand have altered over the years. Most notably, the Sexual Revolution came and went, and left a lot of girls marketing their sexiness as they once marketed their virginity.)

Most men, too, experience themselves in this way, in both their work relations and in their attitudes to women. This doesn't mean, however, that there's something innately human and unchangeable about this way of regarding oneself and acting: It simply means that the cash nexus has seized hold of everybody, and has so obscured genuine human relationships that it takes a bit of imagination to even think what they might be like. I don't want to overstate my point of course it is still possible for men and women to respond positively, to one another (otherwise, there would be no hope for humanity). But those few who do so must do so to their personal cost, and in the knowledge that their energies are depleted by having to fight against a great many institutions and accepted modes of behaviour which actively inhibit them, where they might have been aided by other institutions and other modes of behaviour.

YOUR PAST

You made it up through the education system to the possibility of a job which is interesting and even fulfilling; what about all the girls who didn't? Their parents weren't willing to educate them ("girls only go off and get married") and a whole lot of subtle cultural conditioning, as well as real discrimination, led them to expect little from life except drudgery or dull routine. Women, along with migrants and other despised segments of the community, crowd the service industries. Few of them are skilled workers; they are remarkably absent from the professions. You, through favourable circumstances (probably) as much as personal effort, have escaped being paid a pittance in factory work, or being overworked and exploited as an office Girl Friday. But it is not enough that you made it. What must be attacked is the education system which instils, and the industrial and business system which callously utilizes, the idea of woman's innate inferiority.

Am I telling you anything you don't already know? But now is the time for women to act, both organizationally and in our own lives. Nor must we be timid about recognizing the enormous differences between this set-up and a society where women will be liberated. When Stokely Carmichael was asked, "How will the world be, when it's the way you want it to be?" he replied, "Men will love one another". When the world is the way we want it to be, men and women will love one another. That is to ask for more. But we must not be satisfied with less.

"LIKE THE BLACKS, women oppressed, exploited, and discriminated against. Historically, both have been bought and sold and lived in anticipation and enfranchisement. They thrived: after the values upon which they thrived: their freedom remained."

"LIKE THE BLACKS, women suffer much from low self-esteem as from the eyes of others. Many really believe that they were inferior to their race. Successful Negroes do their race, tried as far as possible, to associate themselves from it. Like ASSUME that they are inferior and that a man's life is of more importance than their own."

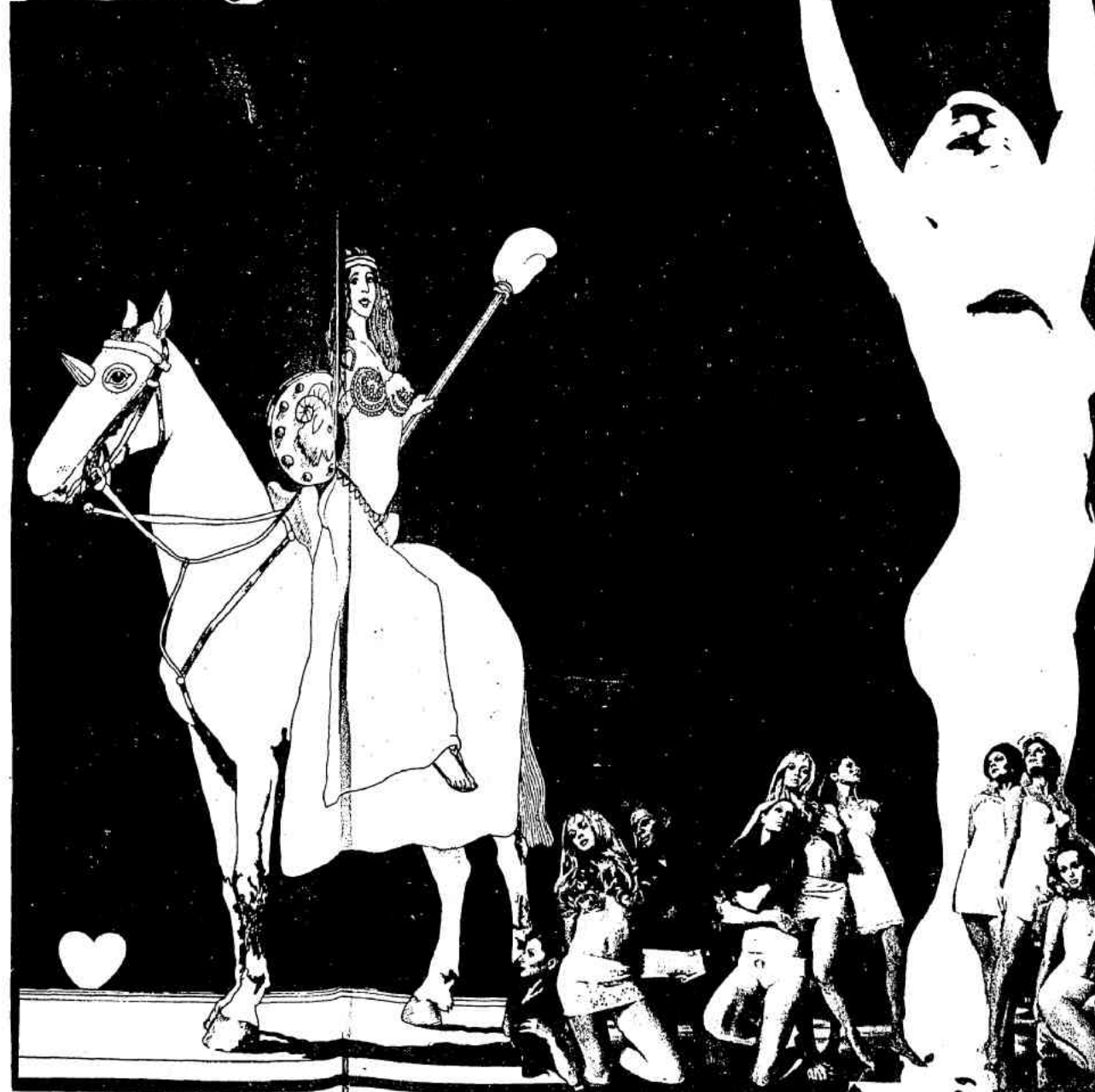


"LIKE THE BLACKS, women realize that they must help themselves. White men still treated blacks with benevolent patronage, even when they 'meant well'. No man can liberate women by telling them what to do or how to do it."

"LIKE THE BLACKS, women are faced with the problem of finding their own identity. The blacks didn't ask for a bigger share of the white man's world: they asserted: 'Black is Beautiful,' and in so doing they redefined a central concept of traditional culture, they reversed the association of WHITE with goodness, beauty, innocence, etc. In the same way, women do not want to be men, or be 'as good as' men. WE WANT TO BE PROUD TO BE WOMEN."

THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION SYMBOL INCORPORATES THE BLACK POWER FIST. WHY?

a women's liberation group for information contact:
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MANSPEAK: THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

In 1984, George Orwell gives an account of Newspeak, the official language of the totalitarian regime of Oceania:

"The purpose of Newspeak was not only to provide a medium of expression for the world-view and mental habits proper to the devotees of Ingsoc, but to make all other modes of thought impossible. It was intended that when Newspeak had been adopted once and for all and Oldspeak [i.e. Standard English] forgotten, a heretical thought - that is, a thought diverging from the principles of Ingsoc - should be literally unthinkable, at least so far as thought is dependent on words. Its vocabulary was so constructed as to give exact and often very subtle expression to every meaning that a Party member could properly wish to express, while excluding all other meanings."

Even Oldspeak isn't exactly Goodspeech, Look at what the English language has done with women.

Firstly, the words "human being" and "man" are synonymous. The condition of modern man. Man is born free and is everywhere in chains. No man is an island. The brotherhood of man. All mankind. What the hell's happened to the other half of the human race? Don't tell me that the word "man" includes both the male and the female. How is it that when man and woman are spoken of as one, that one is always the man? (Theoretically, isn't there a 50% chance of its being the woman?)

No. What the fusion of the meaning of "human being" and "man" does is to effectively exclude women from the framework of reference when wide-ranging discussions are taking place. As she was once banished to play with the children while the men discussed politics and the affairs of the world, so she is still absent from both men and women's thoughts when they think in general terms about the human species.

Newspeak made co-ercion and Government crack-downs on deviation unnecessary - it was SIMPLY IMPOSSIBLE to think a heretical thought. Likewise with Manspeak. You don't have to lock a woman in the kitchen or the bedroom to make her feel that her main reason for existence is her attachment to a man. Just make the

handiest term the language has for the human unit a word that can't apply to her.

And you don't have to chain a woman up to make her feel incapable of action. Just make her think in a language where all the brave things people can do - speaking up, acting forcefully, standing firm, etc. - are expressed in a lot of semi-metaphorical words connected with masculinity. And where everything weak is expressed as being connected with femininity. Newspeak had the same idea:

"The special function of certain Newspeak words was not so much to express meanings as to destroy them. These words, necessarily few in number, had had their meanings extended until they contained within themselves whole batteries of words which, as they were sufficiently covered by a single comprehensive term, could now be scrapped and forgotten... Countless words such as Honour, Justice, Morality, internationalism, democracy, science, and religion had simply ceased to exist. A few blanket words covered them, and, in covering them, abolished them. All words grouping themselves round the concepts of liberty and equality, for instance, were contained in the single word Crime-Think. While all words grouping themselves round the concepts of objectivity and rationalism were contained, in the single word old think."

In the word masculine are contained all the ideas of courage, strength and activity. It is impossible to talk about these for too long without, like Norman Mailer, sounding as though you're subscribing to a phallus cult. Likewise, the word feminine is a blanket term for concepts related to cowardice. Because of this, qualities like gentleness and compassion (traditional womanly qualities) are robbed of their strength through association with servility and weakness, with being "sissy." The English language simply has no equivalent of "virile" to express the pride, dignity, and power of being a woman.

The cultural forces that have rigidified men's and women's natures and roles to the diminishment of them both are far more complex than this. But one of these forces is people's thought about what they are, or could be. And their thought is limited to the words at their command.

sex & the second sex *

Have you ever resented being a sex object?

Wondered why - in the antiwar movement, in the Democratic Club, at sporting fixtures, at poetry readings, etc. etc. etc. - it is usually your man running the show while you, his woman, sit around, waiting?

Noticed the camaraderie among men on all sorts of topics; the camaraderie among women about dressing, going to the next dance, marriage, children, 'my husband' etc?

Wondered why men talk about sex, screwing, wow! birds in a way women do not talk about men?

Wondered if men are really more sexual, easily aroused, than women?

Wondered why so many women are 'frigid', men only occasionally 'impotent'?

Is 'frigidity' simply one end of the natural curve of female sexuality, manifesting thousands of years of male dominance in sex?

If the aim of the sex act (given ideal conditions of relationship, atmosphere, etc.) is orgasm, why do men always have it, most women sometimes, and only a few women always?

Why did Freud call a clitoral orgasm immature and inferior and the mythical vaginal orgasm mature and superior?

Have you ever faked an orgasm to keep your man feeling secure about his ability as a lover?

Why is it that women feel guilty if they don't achieve orgasm without genital foreplay?

Do women really feel penis envy, or is penis envy a rationalization of Freud's and men's fear of the dark, invisible vagina?

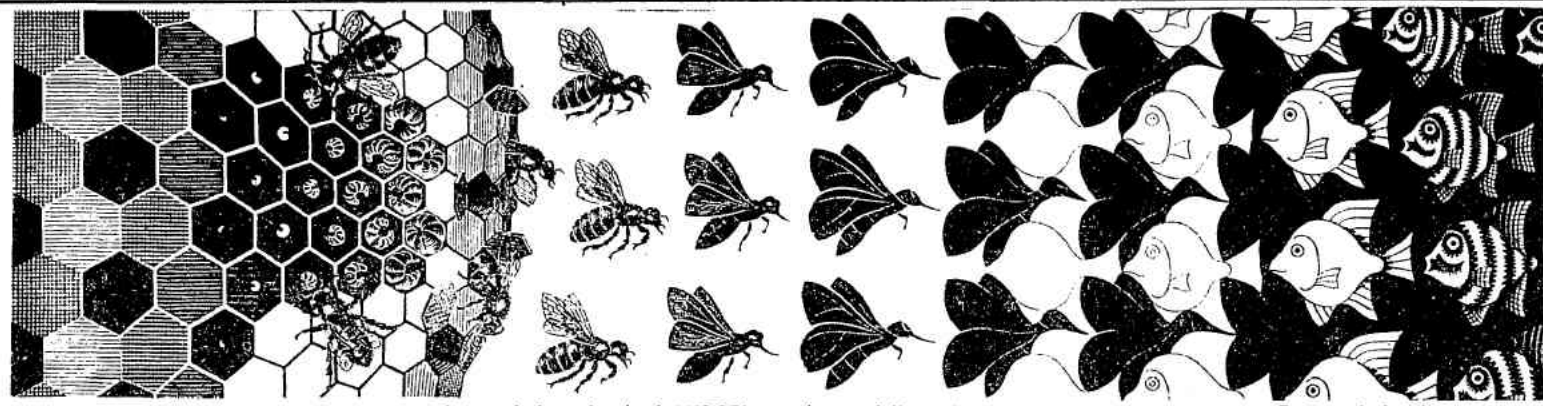
Why are there no female equivalents of Playboy?

Is our whole concept of sexuality and the sex act based on the male perception of it?

Are you happy about the way in which women use their sexual allure to catch a man? (Men use personality, ability, individuality first.)

Are you quite happy about your sex and sexuality?

Is your unhappiness (or disquiet) caused by being a woman in a man's world?



REAL ECOLOGY PROTEST

The environment may well be the gut issue that can unify a polarized nation in the 1970's, writes Time magazine. The Hearst Press see it as a movement "that could unite the generations." And the New York Times solemnly predicts that ecology "will replace Vietnam as the major issue with students."

The wishful thinking of a frightened Establishment? Perhaps. But the organizers of the officially-sanctioned April 22 Teach-In movement are doing their best to give life to the media's daydream about the co-optive potential of ecology. If they succeed, thousands of young people across the country will engage in a series of environmental extravaganzas, embellished to capture the excitement of the original Vietnam teach-ins, but structured to encourage the young to forsake the "less important issues" and enlist in a crusade to save the earth.

We think that any analogy between what is supposed to happen around April 22 and the organization of the Vietnam teach-ins is obscene. We think that the Environmental Teach-In apparatus is the first step in a con game that will do little more than abuse the environment even further. We do not think that it will succeed.

The originators of the Vietnam teach-ins worked at great odds and against the lies and opposition of government, university administrations and the media. They raised their own money and had offices in student apartments or small storefronts. "Earth Day" came to life in the offices of Senator Gaylord Nelson, received blessings from Nixon's Department of Health, Education and Welfare, was funded by foundations, and has worked out of facilities lent by the Urban Coalition.

Vietnam protesters had to create their own reading lists, fact sheets and white papers; they had to work against the "expertise" of Southeast Asia scholars. The Environmental Teach-In comes pre-packaged; a well-paid and well-staffed national office sends local organizers an official brochure which avoids mentioning the social and economic environment with which Mother Nature has to cope. Friends of the Earth (FOE) provides, through Ballantine Books, a semi-official "Environmental Handbook," which insists that saving the environment "transcends the other issues" and that we should, in non-partisan fashion "support a man from any political party if he is a true Friend of the Earth."

Never mind if he's a racist. Don't worry about whether or not he supports American imperialism. This spring the Nixon Administration is busy undoing 15

years of struggle for school integration; the police continue to murder black people in the streets; the American judicial system is disintegrating and, in the eyes of the State, every radical has become a conspirator; the war machine in Washington has made clear its intention to stay in Vietnam indefinitely and to spread its war to Laos. All this - and the Teach-In organizers want to banish everything but environment to the back pages of our minds. They must be blind, or perverse, or both.

How can anyone in this dark spring-time believe kind words - about environment or anything else - from the men in power? Once we might have been able to believe that because a President had embraced the civil rights issue, apartheid in the Deep South was dead. But such illusions can hardly be sustained any longer. The Open Housing Act, the chief legislative victory of those years, finds use this season only for its "H. Rap Brown Amendment" - the interstate travel ban on which the Justice Department hung the Chicago 7.

Lyndon Johnson promised that We Shall Overcome. Now Richard Nixon promised to clean up America. Even RV's "Laugh-In" knows the punch-line: "If Nixon's War on Pollution is as successful as Johnson's War on Poverty, we're going to have an awful lot of dirty poor people around."

Haven't we learned after a decade of social struggle that major problems like Vietnam, Race, Poverty - now Environment - can't be packaged separately, each protected from contamination by "other issues"? Even the Kerner Commission realized that white racism was systematic, structural and linked to economic and social institutions. Even the most determined skeptic has now been shown by the Nixon Administration that the Vietnam war was no honest mistake, but the result of a long history of American expansion into Asia and a long-term policy of subjecting poor nations to the imperatives of American investors. To understand why Washington has persisted in its genocidal war in Indo-China, don't look at the politicians who come and go; look at the structures of power and interest that remain.

Threats to the environment are no different. At their source is the same division of society - those with power against those without: the corporations, which organize for their own benefit, against the people whom they organize destructively.

Look at the values which galvanize energies and allocate resources in the business system: pursuit of money, enrichment of self, the exploitation of man and of nature - to generate still more money. Is it surprising that a system seeking to turn everything into gold ends up turning everything into garbage? The market is master. Business makes money meeting consumer demands; it makes even more money creating new demands. More money is spent on advertising and sales promotion in America, on planned obsolescence and consumer manipulation, than on all education - public and private, elementary school through the university. This is pollution of the mind, and it has its own costs. Some students estimate

that socially useless, ecologically disastrous waste products make up nearly half of the Gross National Product. Nixon has already predicted a 50 per cent increase in the GNP by 1980, ostensibly to finance new priorities like environmental reform. It would be better if he had questioned how much waste the dynamic American economy will have to produce in the next decade simply to clean up the waste of past decades.

Others, like the organizers of the National Teach-In, tell us that it is in the interest even of the corporate rich to clean up the environment. If all their customers are asphyxiated by air pollution, explain these optimists, business (and business-men) would expire as well. By this same logic, the military-industrial complex should bar the ABM from its cities, and the corporations, always eager to bring new consumers into the market, should make the war on poverty work. But no businessman, alone or with other businessmen, can change the tendencies of our ultimately ecocidal process unless he puts the system out of business. As long as society organizes production around the incentive to convert man's energies and nature's resources into profit, no planned, equitable, ecologically balanced system of production can ever exist. Teach-ins which fail to confront this fact of life do worse than teach nothing. They obstruct knowledge and stand in the way of a solution. They join the struggle on the side which permits them truly to say - not of mankind, but of themselves - "We have found the enemy and he is us".

Perhaps the Teach-Ins could teach better if, instead of their present brochure, they distributed a full-page ad from Fortune's special environment issue. Sponsored by the New York State Department of Commerce, the ad pictures Governor Nelson Rockefeller inviting businessmen to come grow with New York. The pitch is simple: "Personal property of manufacturers is completely exempt from taxation in New York -- During the past eleven years, there has not been one single new business tax in New York." Nowhere does the ad mention New York's long series of new non-business taxes. In 55 years in office, Rocky has first imposed, then hiked a new state sales tax; quadrupled the cigarette tax; tripled the gasoline tax; and lowered the minimum income below which poor people are free of the state income tax. Businesses apparently aren't expected to care who subsidizes their growth. But the ad does want them to know that Governor Rockefeller, author of the "soak-the-poor program," considers "economic growth - a continuing expansion of the private economy - to be the indispensable ingredient of all progress."

Rockefeller doesn't say this only because he's a Rockefeller; he says it because he's Governor and every governor wants business to invest in his state. Private business accounts for 85 per cent of the GNP; it must be kept happy and expanding, or, short of revolution, there will be nothing for anyone at all. Regulation to business consequently can never be more than self-regulation, federal intervention into the business sector never more than federal intervention on behalf of the business sector.

But regulation is not the question. We simply don't need any more gross national product, any more unnecessary goods and factories. What we do need is a redistribution of existing real wealth, and a reallocation of society's resources. Everyone knows what this redistribution and reallocation should do; the crises of the last ten years have made it all so obvious: The poor must have adequate income, the cities must be rebuilt to fit human requirements, the environment must be de-polluted, the educational system must be vastly expanded, and social energies now poured into meaningless pursuits (like advertising and sales promotion) must be rechanneled into humanly edifying and creative activities.

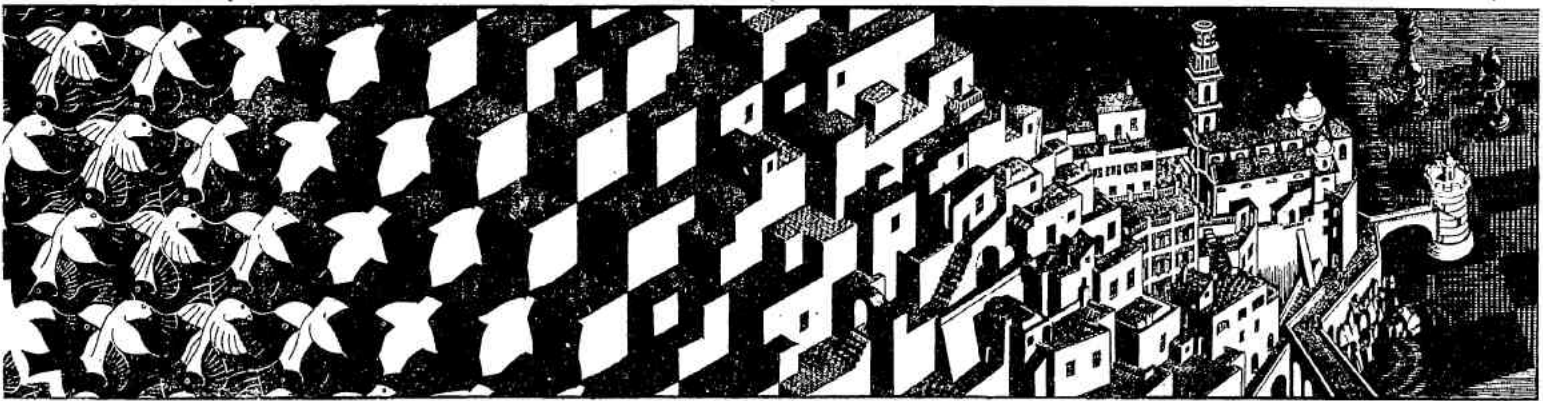
We must, in short, junk the business system and its way of life, and create revolutionary new institutions to embody new goals - human and environmental.

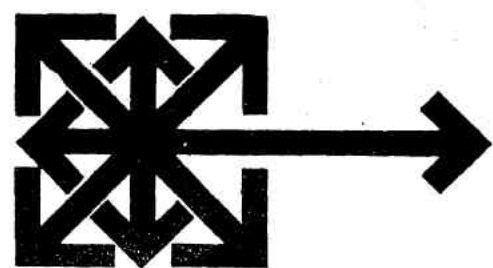
All this sounds utopian. Well, utopias are relative. More utopian by far than revolution is the idea that the present society, dominated by business, can create lasting, meaningful reforms sufficient, for example to permit mankind to survive the century.

At a recent "survival faire" in San Jose, California, ecology organizers bought a new car and buried it as a symbol of the task which they saw confronting ecology action groups. This was an indication of dangerous political naivete that must be overcome. To buy the car in the first place was to pay the criminal and strengthen him. But this act also pointed the finger of guilt at the consumer, who has only the choice of traveling to work by auto or walking 30 miles to work on the freeway. In opposition to this misdirected gesture of revolt, San Jose's black students angrily demanded that the car be raffled to provide defense funds for their brothers on trial. The blacks made their point very clearly.

In contrast to this Survival Faire, the week after the Conspiracy defendants were sentenced in Chicago, angry students razed the local branch of the Bank of America in Santa Barbara, California. The only bank in the Isla Vista youth ghetto, B of A had long treated young people as a class apart. It had opposed the grape strikers centered in Delano. It had supported, with branches in Saigon and Bangkok and with its leadership of the investment build-up in the Pacific, the American occupation of Southeast Asia. Two of its directors sit on the board of Union Oil, which had for so many months desecrated the once-beautiful beaches of Santa Barbara and destroyed their wildlife. Most important, as the branch manager explained to the press, it had been the major local symbol of capitalism and the business system.

Burning a bank is not the same as putting the banks and their system out of business. To do that, millions of people in this country will first have to wake up to the real source of their misery. The action in Santa Barbara, a community which has seen its environment destroyed by corporate greed, might spark that awakening. If it does, the students who burned the Bank of America in Santa Barbara will have done more to save the environment than all the Survival Faires and "Earth Day Teach-Ins" put together.





US NOTES

**Owen podger
Los Angeles
correspondent**

Orange County is well known for many things. Its city of Anaheim is the home of Disneyland; San Clemente has the Western White House; John Birch is strongest here; Reagan gets the most overwhelming acceptance; and the Minute-Men have the largest caches of arms. On a map, it is about as left as the USA goes; in politics it is about as right.

Orange County is not urban, and only partially rural. It is one of the most suburban of the States counties. And its life is remarkably Kinseyan, according to the Los Angeles Times. Venereal disease increased 70% last year, and already is 100% over last year in six months. A teenager karate class showed 80% gonorrhoea, including a twelve-year-old. A large proportion of cases occurred in the suburban "weekly cocktail party" set, the report claims.

Los Angeles Police Department continues to be a point of major criticism, because, in the past week they have been murdering Blacks and Chicanos almost one a day, about eight times their average rate.

A fourteen-year-old Chicano was first. The circumstance is rather unclear as the newspapers avoided the issue. It was something to do with a riot, and riots are not popular they scare the people.

Amie was second. When policemen approached him in his driveway (where he was arguing with his sister while his mother and two

brothers watched), he turned around, produced a tiny water pistol and said: "I've got you this time, bang, bang." Two policemen, crouching behind their car on the outside of the road, were first to open fire. The last shots were fired at close range as he lay on the ground dead. One policeman retrieved the plastic gun from bushes and placed it beside the bodies.

Witnesses were made to lie on the lawn face down till reinforcements arrived. Several were taken down to the police station and quizzed for up to seven hours straight.

A secret Grand Jury with "limited investigatory powers" and a "kind of partnership with the district attorney's office", according to the D.A. himself, refused to indict the officers. Other members of the Amie family continue to be harassed, arrested and beaten by the police.

The next man was in Beverly Hills ("no blacks live in this neighbourhood"). He supposedly drew a shot-gun at a police officer who fired four shots. The Black was dead before he shot once - a bullet in the head and one in the chest.

Johne was fourth. He approached two policemen with a loaded shotgun, and was shot in the chest and abdomen. Police insinuated that he was responsible for many disturbances in the area. But they were careful

not to accuse him.

Sanchez and Sanchez were two illegal immigrants who spoke no English. Police were looking for a fugitive murderer and thought he was in the Sanchez's apartment. They broke down the front door of the building without knocking and without a warrant. They called for the occupants of the Sanchez's room to come out. One man did, and approached the two policemen down the narrow corridor. "Gaines, thinking the man was the murder suspect, fired one shot," said the police report, "and then tripped over." The other policeman thought Sanchez had fired the shot, and plastered the already wounded, innocent, unarmed man with bullets.

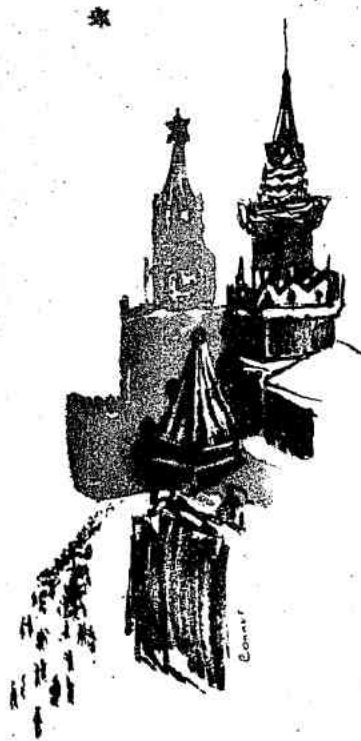
The other men in the room tried escaping by the window, on the second floor. The first one to dangle precariously from the drain pipe had at least twelve shots fired at him from police waiting below. This man, also called Sanchez, fell to his death. Bullets had also penetrated the building, narrowly missing a sleeping baby in a cot in the next apartment.

The police found no arms in the building. None of the men in Sanchez room spoke English. They say they had no warning. And, of course, the murder suspect was miles away. On hearing of the tragic murders, he gave himself up.

cont. p10

TOURING RUSSIA

**with
paddy
mullin**



Russia in Winter does have most of the expected Zhivago touches - snow everywhere, green fir trees, bare black branches traditional fur hats, little women in black sweeping snow from the pavements, fantastic palaces, bleak black wooden villages on the edge of Siberia - even the traditional decorated pine tree and Santa Claus (heavily disguised as Father Frost).

There is, of course, another side to all this glamour. The sun comes up after 9.00 in the morning and begins to set around 4.00. You can't sit down outside or stop and talk too long. Homes, hotels, trains even buses are heated not through any burst of whimsy but necessity. And the snow reduces everything to its lowest denominator. Moscow is not a beautiful city - its chief charm lies in the fact that it is so alive with a million people passing in and out every day - but with snow on the ground it attains its full dreariness. Large grey spaces and square, heavy buildings predominate and the occasional Byzantine extra-vaganza do little but emphasize their own incongruity in such surroundings.

In a tour of Sydney you see Sydney

now - "this is the bridge, the opera house, the zoo..." In the USSR it is different, you are shown history. In Moscow it was "here is the Tretyakov Art Gallery with everything from icons to post-Revolutionary realism; here is the Kremlin and a fantastic vulgar collection of goodies amassed by greedy Tsars; and here (tread softly) is the mausoleum of our hero, Lenin; here a street built to celebrate fifty years of Communism and here a permanent exhibition of Economic Achievement."

In Leningrad, a softer, romantic, beautiful city, we were shown the oh-so-preserved splendour of Tsarist palaces; the museum of the Revolution and a cemetery where half a million people who died in the siege of Leningrad in the last war, are buried.

In Volgograd, chiefly memorable as Stalingrad, it was "here we fought a battle; here we stopped the Germans; here a statue; here a war museum ... a war memorial a ruined mill ... a film of the battle on the Volga ... see these buildings, all built since the last war, nothing remained you know."

But a visit to the USSR is not just a history lesson - it is a lesson in practical

politics as well. It is impossible to ignore the fact that 50 years ago there was a revolution in the USSR; the lack of advertising and variety both bespeak a Communist system, as do the friendship and peace posters, and the murals of hexagonal breasted women and ham fisted workers and the ubiquitous face of Lenin.

Communism does not show its best face to the Tourist. To the average Russian it means a boost to his national pride through nuclear and scientific achievements as well as (presumably) a warm bed, cheap rent, some equality of opportunity and guaranteed security against all social ills with the exception of communism itself.

To the Tourist, however, the USSR appears to be a vast Public Service. The service industries (excluding transport) are slow, unhelpful and uncaring. To buy a single article requires a form in triplicate, three queues, change in anything from Polish zlotys to cigarettes (whether you smoke or not) and a lot of patience. The capitalistic visitor discovers just how wedded he is to his own ideology when he finds that no one is particularly concerned to sell him anything while the goods themselves are frequently badly finished and poorly packaged. There is often no choice the same motor car, carpet and even soap from city to city can become rather depressing, especially on top of the same potato in the borsch as was served for yesterday's lunch. (This last is conjecture).

A lot of the USSR is a rather amusing mixture of traditional Russiana and Soviet realism. The super what'sname jet in which we flew over Siberia was two storeys high and built to match - but inside there were curtained archways, odd nooks and crannies, chess sets on demand and a complete unconcern that one seat should not have a seat belt. The metro in Moscow must be about the cleanest, cheapest fastest and most efficient in the world, yet the stations have chandeliers and marble frescoes.

I am not going to make the usual statement that people in the USSR are just like us - mainly because it is not true. They slurp their soup in public and they push and shove in crowds in what would here be thought a very anti-social, if not downright homicidal manner. They also have a far greater public concern than we do: if someone is not wearing a hat in the street passers-by are most insistent that he put it on. Whenever I didn't quite manage the Russian borsch or meatball the waitress would make the universal grand-mother-type clucking noise.

Through interpreters the group met "important people" such as professors and the assistant minister for education and leaders of student organisations and so on. They started, almost invariably, with the hope "that the warmth of our hearts will overcome the cold" but after this heavy-handed friendship bit they all too frequently became touchy and humourless, dogmatically reiterating the party line.

Russian children are delightful - all muffled up to the eyebrows. When we dragged some kindergarten children around on sledges they later insisted that they drag us. No so delightful are the black marketers who approached us occasion-

ally offering to buy clothes and biros or exchange money. In France if someone sidled up to you murmuring "feelly post-cards?" you would probably take it as part of the way of life, but in the USSR when someone offers you double the official rate of money exchange you tend to see it as an indictment of the system. Which may be a little irrational.

Individually and unofficially most Russians are charming. The greatest part of our contact was with students for we had meetings and parties with "the youth" of every city we visited. Many students we met spoke English - often with an American accent. Except in official meetings they were not particularly concerned to learn about Australia - though many wanted to travel - or talk politics; rather they preferred to dance, drink vodka and talk about nothing in particular.

The most noticeable common factor I found among the Russians I met was a strong, almost militant, nationalism. Russians are frequently accused of letting tourists see only the "showcase" side of their country, and claim to have the best, the biggest or the first of everything. To anyone raised in the good old Australian tradition of "knocking" any and everything this does jar. However, it is not, I would say as much a symptom of Communist propaganda as Russian nationalism - which takes the form of strong pride in and identification with the achievements of his country as a whole. It would not occur to most Russians that to show only one side of their country makes the average tourist only too ready to find faults. Just as they like their food very sweet and very sour - so a lot of their thinking is unsubtle and naive.

It is remarkably easy to get along with Russian people socially: the two hardest adjustments are to accept this nationalism as fervour rather than conceit and to realise that while we try to forget the last war Russians try to preserve its memory. This last just has to be taken as a fact for it is impossible, I think, for a post war Australian to appreciate what the war meant to the USSR.

This article was supposed to be a "sell" for the trip to the USSR next year so I suppose I had better redress the balance a bit. There are three weeks within the USSR itself so you can stand the cold and the food, and within these three weeks you experience whole host of delights - meetings with various groups and officials for the politically aware, universities, schools and institutes for the educationally minded, concerts, ballet, opera and art galleries of a magnificent standard for the culture vulture and for the rest, dawn over Siberia, snowy Leningrad, the Kremlin, St. Basil's; even, if you like, skating and parties almost every night (with neat vodka against the cold). To complete the package deal there is a month of shipboard life (it only takes strength of mind to ignore the fact that it is third class), two weeks free time in Japan, and a chance to see Taiwan, Hong Kong and Port Moresby. Altogether it is what the travel brochures would call a rich unforgettable experience. Whether it is or not, there is always the undoubted cachet of being able to say "the USSR? Oh yes, I was there last Christmas!"



was with a guy who was "going for some cigarettes" and decided San Francisco was where he'd like to spend his weekend. Another trip was with a Veteran who boasted of all the gooks he'd got, and threw beer cans as if they were grenades, including the ducking to avoid the explosion impact. Every second person was stoned, be it on beer or grass or both. One left end at a party where a fellow on an acid trip stood naked in a field, on one leg, for over an hour. Groovy.

The Berkeley scene is depressing mainly because drugs are rife. People on the side-walks whisper "hashish", "grass", "acid" as you walk by. This is still the home of student dissent, but a far cry from the proud stance of the mid-sixties. Today a cause is just if it creates a riot, and donations go to the legal-defense fund rather than to the cause. The U.C. Regents were given a detailed report on actions where anything goes and any action justifies a high grade.

My trip was peaceful. A week later, three kids were hitching the same route. One was killed, another badly shot up. The driver-murderer and the girl-hiker disappeared, and any faith in her safety is dwindled. Three other hitchhikers in the same area were bludgeoned to death while they slept on a beach.

In the Yellowstone National Park, a hitchhiker killed his driver, cut him to pieces and ate the heart. He confessed to a highway patrolman days later. "I have a problem, I'm a

cannibal". He was the second self-confessed Satan-worshipper charged with murder-sacrifice in the week.

Acid has been connected with many of these hideous stories. A young friend of mine, now off the drug-trip, says: "Man, acid opens your mind, like, to more than you know."

Crime is not confined to the road. In the past week, a father killed off his family with a hammer, and a man his landlady and her daughters in the same fashion. Californians are arming themselves. The Los Angeles Times reports that militants on the political left and right are stockpiling enough weapons to equip private armies. Several right wing caches have been found, but only one left wing at the Black Panther headquarters. Traffic in weapons is at least twice as great today as a decade ago.

One gun-sales inspector says: "They've all got a story. (People who buy guns) have been robbed or mugged lately. Why do they buy guns? In most cases the reason is fear." A policeman in Los Angeles very aptly said: "Some day the cops are going to be out-gunned." They have seized 28,000 (and a 600% rise) illegal weapons so far this year.

National poles show that the campus situation is largely responsible for this fear. It rates higher than politics,

race or war as the U.S. popular fear. Senate was given some reason for concern when told more than half the 41,000 bomb-threats and bombings in fifteen months were on campuses. Southern California recorded 1,000 bombings in two years.

San Diego police are taking measures to control crime in a rather novel way. They keep a "tally sheet" on judges who the officers believe have been too soft on suspects awaiting trial. Judges have abused their discretion in releasing people who have been involved in violent crimes. An S.D. Police Officer says, "The tallysheet will be released in time for the November elections," when the polyglot of politicians, sheriffs, judges and dog-catchers are elected.

The FBI also has its little fingers in the students' pie. Hoover terms the anti-war organisations, in his special Report on Campus Violence, "opposed to administration policies" insinuating illegality. Civil liberties groups are greatly concerned over this major federal investigative agency taking cognizance of lawful political activity of students. "Does the head of the FBI," asks one, "mean to suggest that forming committees to engage in political activities is somehow subversive? And why does he mention it in (a report on) Violence?"

The report counted the dead and injured in recent clashes, citing the police injuries. It failed to mention

that the dead were students, killed in tragic over-kill.

Ronald Reagan also is striving to prevent further campus disorders. His lackies on the University of California Board of Regents have not only refused to allow Angela Davis to teach, they have blocked her ex-boss. Miss Davis is a very un-subversive communist, and a brilliant teacher and scholar. She is also Black. The head of her department strongly recommended that she be re-hired in 1970-71, thus jeopardizing his own career. See how the Regents act "to end six years of unrest on the University's nine campuses."

Reagan also heads up the State College Trust. Trustees are attempting to ban all political activities on all 19 college campuses in Autumn. They are concerned about the November senatorial elections.

Reagan and Unruh are running against each other for Governor of California. Reagan, a republican, has been contacting all the richest democrats, urging them, if not to give money to him, don't give it to Unruh. It promises to be a dirty race already, and may the richest man win.

Thanat Khoman, Thai Foreign Minister, recently suggested that the United States is on the verge of a national breakdown that has affected its reliability as an ally. It is "difficult to expect a well-reasoned and balanced reaction from (Thai's) disturbed partner," he said, and Thanat Khoman is no fool.



from p. 2

Hitchhiking is very popular with students over summer here. This year, it is reportedly up 30%, and I'm part of the 30%. I went up to San Francisco for the July 4th Weekend, even though I had only two dollars and an almost exhausted credit-card to my name. The people I met were rare. One 400-mile hitch

from p. 2

Taking again the question of 'vice'. It is an article of faith among protesters that Saigon is now an utterly debauched city, "the brothel of the East," etc. Leaving aside the hypocrisy involved in the denunciation of 'sin' by those who spend the rest of their time advocating complete moral permissiveness, the truth is that Saigon's night life is about as exciting as King's Cross on a wet Monday night: half-empty bars, no public dancing-by law, bar girls pathetically pleading with passers-by to come and drink. Judging by the accounts of Graham Greene and others it was all much more flourishing in the days of the French.

Both the supporters and the opponents of the Moratorium Campaign tended to assume that one should accept or reject the two demands of the campaign as a package. What one might call syndrome thinking is very characteristic of the whole debate. I have got quite used to someone saying to me, in the Staff Common Room for instance, "I would have thought that you would be in favour of (or against) X" when the only evidence they have for

thinking this is my position on Vietnam, which, invariably, has nothing to do with X. I don't think there is anything offensive about this. They are just assuming that my mind works like theirs on political issues.

On the two Moratorium demands my views are quite different. I think that calling for immediate and unconditional withdrawal is utterly irresponsible. But the case for ending conscription is strong enough to deserve very close attention. Conscription is a very serious infringement on freedom and in any circumstances it can only be a necessary evil. The question is whether it is necessary today, necessary that is for Australia's security. Ross Parsh and others have made a case against it on economic grounds. I am not an economist, but I find this case persuasive. Even if it underestimates considerably the economic cost of a volunteer army, when the current social and political costs of conscription are put into the balance, as they surely must be, the case for a volunteer army may remain a strong one. This is surely an important enough issue to deserve the closest and most thorough investigation.

Marx was right after all: history does repeat itself, first as tragedy and then as farce. After the revolt of the masses comes the revolt of the asses.

A fair crack? Well, there is no doubting

the asininity of many of the student radicals - it is as evident as their cleverness. Their frivolity, irresponsibility, faddishness, jaunty willingness to court disaster, inability to discriminate in the search for gurus - all these testify to it.

Unfortunately, however, the joke tends to obscure something interesting: the student movement fits extraordinarily well the model of mass behaviour suggested by Ortega y Gasset in *The Revolt of the Masses* (1930) and developed by political sociologists like Selznick and Kornhauser since. In this context 'masses' refers not to the workers but to the unqualified. A mass society is a society in which 'the sovereignty of the unqualified' prevails and in which the indispensable functions of creative and culture bearing elites cannot be performed. A mass movement is one which attempts to bring this state of affairs about.

According to Kornhauser (1959) mass behaviour has the following characteristics: (a) the focus of attention is remote from personal experience and daily life; (b) a preference for 'direct action' and a rejection of institutional mediation (see also Ortega: 'Civilization is nothing else than an attempt to reduce force to being the *ultima ratio*. We are now beginning, to realize this with startling clearness, because 'direct action' consists in inverting the order and proclaiming violence as *prima ratio*, or strictly as *unica ratio*.'); (c) a high level of instability, with ready

shifts of focus of attention and intensity of response; (d) mass movements have an amorphous structure and often lack stable leadership (in this they are unlike totalitarian movements and provide tempting targets for penetration by the latter)

Selznick (1951) foresaw very clearly some of the effects the 'disease of massness' would have on Universities: 'the students no longer feels his relatedness to a community of scholarship; he is not concerned about, indeed is impatient with, the traditional values of the university life. He does not look forward to becoming a new kind of man; he expects to retain his commonness...'

The faculty adapts itself to the mass character of the institution: 'in the faculties two new types will become more prominent; the technician and the demagogue - only these will earn the plaudits of the student body. The student will become his teacher's judge, sometimes even explicitly so.'

Not bad for someone writing 20 years ago. But the last word goes to Ortega. Wanting to stress the irrationality of mass behaviour he writes: 'In the disturbances caused by scarcity of food, the mob goes in search of bread, and the means it employs is generally to wreck the bakeries. This may serve as a symbol of the attitude adopted on a greater and more complicated scale, by the masses of today towards the civilization by which they are supported.' Indeed it may.

Going for a roe... ..and back

Dear Sir,

Doubtless the use of "bullshit" by Julius Roe to describe the arguments of the RMC cadets in favour of the war may well have been justified. I find the blanket dismissal of the arguments of the Right, in the report of the arrest in "Woroni" (1.9.70), more difficult to justify.

In fact it is to the detriment of the Left that its defence of the anti-war position is becoming marred by quick dismissal of pro-war arguments as uninformed, by eloquent use of conventional obscenities which indicate an attitude of despair rather than confidence in the right of the anti-war position, by ad hominem attacks, that oldest and easiest way of disposing of an opponents' argument. Debate about the war declines into self-righteous annihilation of the other person rather than his argument. Who bashed whom at which demonstration and was it really the cops or us who used the obscenities and provoked the conflict become variables in the equation defining the progress of the anti-war movement.

Anyone who has read on Vietnam and regards human beings as more important than the ideals of Ho Chi Minh or Uncle Sam will find the complexities of the situation almost overwhelming. I have often found it as hard to answer the arguments of the Right on the war as I have found it difficult to reject the position of the Left which I have favoured since Australia's participation in the war began. Anyone case of a My Lai can usually be answered with a case of a Viet Cong bombing of an orphanage and murder of a Buddhist monk ("The Australian" 31.8.70)

I can't help feeling that, in the words of a friend in his statement of non-registration to Mr. Snedden, that "choosing sides in a war between human beings is hypocrisy."

Mark Finnane.

Killen 'em

Dear Student,

As a member of South African Student Contact International I have been asked to approach you concerning several matters.

As you may already know (through our news-sheet, CONTACT), SASCI functions as an independent non-political organization which is primarily concerned with establishing constructive relationships on a domestic as well as overseas level, in the hope that we may in this manner rectify the distorted image presented of our country overseas.

Our aim is to awaken a general interest in South Africa with regard to its geographical, social and economic make-up, and we feel that we can achieve this by the distribution of student publications, travel brochures, and personal letters. By the same token, we wish to receive similar information from overseas, thereby establishing a closer link with our fellow European, American and African neighbours. This mutual exchange of information, we feel, can only lead to an increase in mutual understanding.

We would be very indebted to you if you could supply us with names and addresses of any student organizations and private students who would be interested in exchanging views and opinions with us. Similarly, the addresses of student publications and societies which we could contact.

May we rely on your interest and cooperation concerning this matter.

CHAIRMAN

There's a lot of truth in the letter from Mark Finnane discussing the Woroni article on Julius Roe's arrest for saying "bullshit". But is it perhaps an over-reaction considering the circumstances the article described. To imply any sort of "blanket dismissal of the arguments of the Right" from a short article which described one of the more farcical arrests that Canberra has seen is surely making a deduction from grossly insufficient evidence. Roe did not merely say "Bullshit" to the offending (and offensive) statements; he said "Bullshit, because..." and elaborated, attempted to reason.

Nor was Woroni's writer implying a blanket dismissal of all arguments for the Vietnam war by saying that one could come to Garema Place on a Friday night "if only to be amazed at what SOME of the audience give as reasons to support the war". That statement says nothing about the presence or otherwise of good arguments for the war, it merely suggests that some pretty amazing inanities are usually spouted.

Finnane is almost certainly correct in suggesting that the debate from both sides about the war is pretty pathetic. Nevertheless he is not absolved from the responsibility of sifting out what is sensible, and, if unable to justify Australia's taking Vietnamese lives, working for the immediate end of the war. (The principle here is that any person or country must justify killing, and if it fails to do so, must be opposed.)

James Jacobsen.

review:

Bush Fighting Man

Tony Richardson is the man who gave us a Hamlet for 1970 (When To be or not to be is still the question) and a Charge of the Light Brigade for the age of the anti-war movement. Now he's put Mick Jagger in hippie bush-whacker gear and the pigs in mutton-chops, stuck them both in the middle of the ghost gums and a flock of emus, and got them to go through the motions of a confrontation between the individual and the authoritarian machinery of the State.

Its hard to figure out how Tony Richardson wanted Mick Jagger to play Ned.



On stage, Jagger is blatant, bold, aggressive and sexy; on screen, he's youthful, fragile and gangly.

What happened? Can't Jagger project when he's acting the same image he does as a Rolling Stone? Or is the gangly bit part of Richardson's interpretation of Ned? - If this is the case, then Ned has to do some pretty odd things for a frail, and sensitive, even bookish, young man - like win at hop-step-and-jump, and fight free of four hefty policemen who are holding him down. Maybe these episodes are meant as preparation for the final transfiguration when the lad comes looming through the dawn at Glenrowan, miraculously inflated into the Great Tin-can Australian Myth.

As a Western, Ned Kelly isn't in the same class as Butch Cassidy. As a Rock Show, it's a dead loss. But what livin' breathin' fightin' free-born son of Australia wouldn't want to go along and see the wild colonial boy put a crick in the stiff-necked unicorns? It's our heritage, after all - not that we'd know, of course, unless we saw it at the movies. Better get your dose quick, before the wombats gobble you up.

Eileen Haley.

Letters



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WORONI

as others see us...

Teachers From U.S. Face Some Major Adjustments

SYDNEY, Australia, Aug. 11— Mrs. Patricia Steward still glows over the red-carpet treatment that she and her husband, Lester, received when they arrived from Arizona a few weeks ago to teach in a rural Australian town.

But Miss Donna Hopkins of California, who has been here longer, is incensed by the "very frustrating" experiences of an American teacher working under restrictive classroom conditions.

The two reactions indicate the range, of response by representative American teachers, interviewed here recently, to the situation awaiting hundreds of other American teachers now being recruited in the United States for jobs in Australia.

According to the New South Wales State Department of Education more than 9,000 inquiries have been received in answer to newspaper advertisements placed by the department in New York, Washington, Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

The advertisements invite Americans to "teach in the happy country down under." Education Department officials expect to recruit 500 to 1,000 Americans in the current campaign to augment short-handed school staffs in this state with qualified foreigners.

The newcomers will face major adjustments in both personal and professional life, according to Australians and American teachers interviewed.

"Salaries are 50 to 60 percent of the American scale, while prices run 70 to 80 percent," said Kenneth W. Fisher of New York City, a lecturer in engineering at the University of Sydney, who has been here three years.

The Australian pay range in state education runs from \$4,500 a year for a beginning teacher to \$9,000 for a high school principal.

Mr. and Mrs. Steward, teaching high school classes in the town of Orange, 250 miles north-west of Sydney, find that together they are earning about what each of them made last year in Phoenix.

"You can live but you certainly can't save much," said Miss Hopkins, who shares an apartment in Sydney.

To cushion the initial economic shock, the newcomer will receive a "settling-in allowance" ranging from \$280 for an unmarried teacher coming by sea to \$1,008 for a married recruit arriving by air, plus \$112 for each dependent child. Salary begins upon departure from the United States, which tends to compensate for the lower allowance given to the traveler by ship. Teachers must pay their own fares.

However, if the teacher recruit comes as a "migrant," one who intends to stay in Australia at least two years, he qualifies for an additional contribution of up to \$375 toward the air fare, which in economy class is \$649.50 from New York or \$530.50 from Los Angeles.

The agreement requires the newcomer to stay one year anywhere in New South Wales. Assignments may range from an affluent neighborhood in Sydney, a city of 2.7 million people, to a hamlet in the outback with 20 or 30 pupils.

"Perhaps the teacher gets a better deal in the outback," said J.D. Graham the state Assistant Director General of Education, noting that his department takes

pride in an "even spread" in quality of teachers and equipment over the whole state.

"The best mathematic teacher I ever saw was in Mullumbimby," said Thomas McLaren, a staff inspector, naming a tiny outback community 500 miles from Sydney.

American teachers here have been disconcerted by the absence of "home rooms" in the Australian schools. The teachers, as well as the students, shift from room to room for different classes. The result, one American said, is "extraordinary destructiveness and lack of discipline".

The role of the Parents and Citizens Association, the Australian equivalent of the Parent-Teacher Associations in the United States, bemused some Americans.

"The P. and C. is expected to donate equipment that the State would supply as an essential in American schools," one teacher said. But this aspect of the P. and C. role is declining as the sophistication of Australian officials expands, said Frederick Sinclair Dobbin, principal of the well-equipped Canobolas High School in Orange, a prosperous rural center.

"I don't know how the American teachers will like the bureaucratic control here," said Ivor G. Lancaster, general secretary of the New South Wales Teachers Federation, the teachers union here.

One teacher interviewed complained of the rigid curriculums and other restraints that "leave the teacher with little responsibility," and the gearing of studies toward the all-important examinations that come at the end of the fourth and sixth forms - the equivalent of the sophomore and senior years in an American high school.

There are other complaints: Miss Miriam Fisher of New York City teaches in a room with no electricity.

An Australian teacher who preferred to remain unidentified, said, "We aren't allowed to criticize," adding that besides teaching she had to "be a nurse, child-minder, a book distributor and take her turn in disposing of garbage."

Overcrowded classes, primitive facilities in many schools and low pay are among the factors cited in a teacher-resignation rate for New South Wales that an official put at "12 per cent a year and rising".

Rozelle High School, in a working-class neighborhood of Sydney, is without a gymnasium or assembly hall, and the library and science laboratory have to double as classrooms.

"But we feel that the department recognizes our problems," said the principal, Cecil Cox, citing a plan to build a new school on an adjacent eight-and-a-half acre plot recently purchased for more than \$600,000.

On a recent nationally televised current-events program, pupils at one high school complained of 91 staff changes in one year. One girl, citing "lack of continuity" in the faculty, said that one of her classes had had seven teachers in a single term.

Robert Trumbull.

Teach in the happy country Down Under

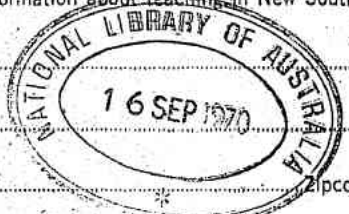
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